of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to 585
her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters 602
and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the 585
bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the cere- 596
monial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the 312
standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts 415
of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appro- 461
priate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is 462
rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger 482
as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of 822
the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

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[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because S G 648
he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and 571
prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer
on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative G 647
actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The 693
system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative
machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons
remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of S 177
the community and relate it to the world outside, results from 439
the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required S
for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their 177
grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 511
1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered [439]
to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries [434]
are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton [291]
summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against
traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the
men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was S
cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces [294]
of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace [415]
the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing [554]
pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and
each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things
that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available S [233]
winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While [435]
twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize [262]
bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a
more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content.
Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow
bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all
counts, the minimum money income required by a family to
live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased. S

In the memory of living people the community has always 178
exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other 439
pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always 426
lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part 511

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/32 cont./

415 hollows on its upper side. The bread is put into these after kneading, and left to rise before baking (fig. 7).

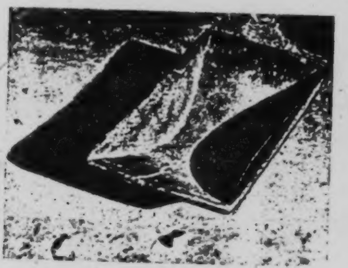

Fig. 6

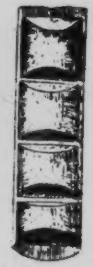

Fig. 7

The plastiri is a circular tray 60 centimeters in diameter on which the Sarakatsani women knead the dough of unleavened bread. It is likewise on this tray that they flatten out the fylla or pastry leaves for flat-cakes (see below, chapter on food) (fig. 8).

412 /33/ The plastis which is used to stretch out the pastry is a sort of rolling pin 70 centimeters long and three centimeters in diameter (fig. 8).

415 Kitchen utensils and dishes

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415

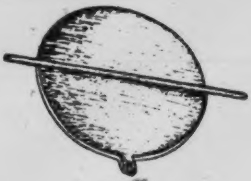

Fig.

/33 cont./

415 Since nearly all the utensils of this sort are metal--and are therefore not made by the Sarakatsani themselves--the only things left to describe here are:

412 The Káfki, a kind of wooden bowl cut out in quantity. It is used
415 at times as a mortar, at times as a single plate set in the center of the table within reach of all the diners; individual plates are unknown.

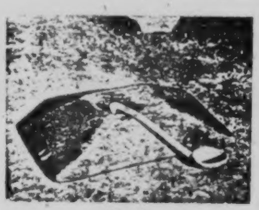

Fig. 9

412 The spoons and spatulas of wood, likewise made in quantity, are used for eating, as well as to stir the contents of cooking pots (fig. 9).

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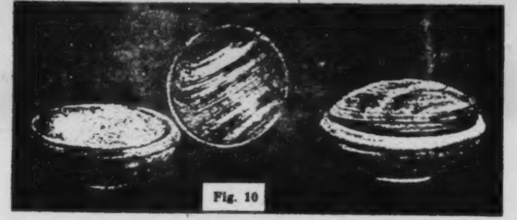

Fig. 10

/34/ The glasses, or rather the cups, are also made of wood.

The klidhopinako, finally, is a sort of double bowl, of wood, the two parts of which fit together hermetically. That is why this object often serves as a food container by the shepherds, who can thus carry liquid and warm food during their long watches in the pastures (fig. 10).

3: Kabbadias--43 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/34 cont./

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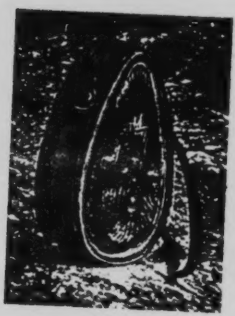

Fig. 11

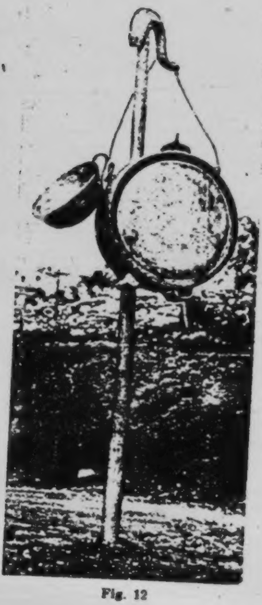

Fig. 12

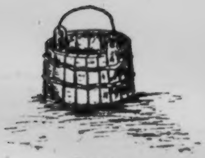

Fig. 13

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Fig. 14

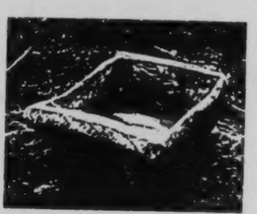

Fig. 16

Fig. 15

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

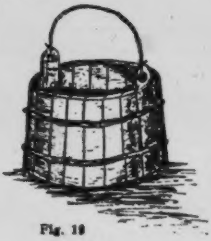

Fig. 19

/36 /

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

[824] The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

37 cont./

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824

of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the fore of a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21)

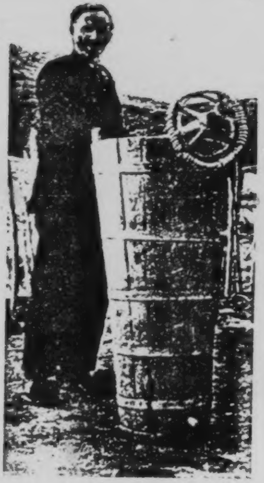
Fig. 20

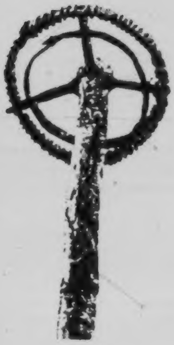
Fig. 21

415 /38/

234 251 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 824 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been [177] [322] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

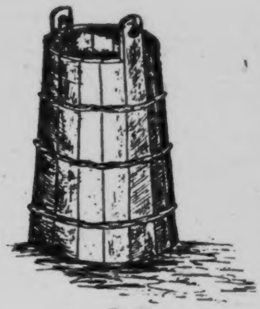
Fig. 22

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Fig. 23

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

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415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

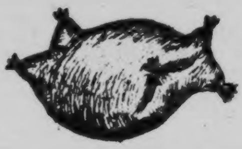

Fig. 43

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully
and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then
[251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation;
these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

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824 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

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/79/

Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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Fig. 63

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

- 233 --Unloading of the animals.
- 361 --Pitching of the tents.
- 484 --Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
- [417) --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

Working with the livestock

233 Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is derived [434] from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 234 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

(343) [415] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 234 221 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 234 221 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 439 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb. [439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

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Fig. 75

233 [262] Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.

[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/109 cont./
252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
252 262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other,
which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

[128] However, preliminary to the description of the different
[234] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of preparing of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients
of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
221 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the
course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 252 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

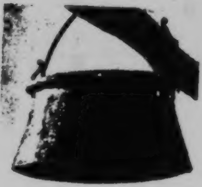

Fig. 91

/110 cont./
234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas
(fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

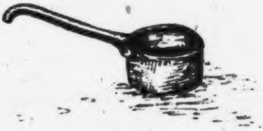

Fig. 93

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be
eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

252 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

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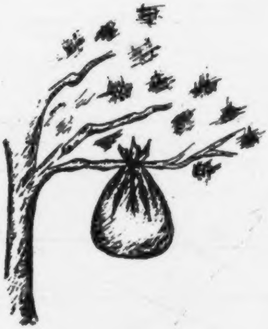

Fig. 94

252 262 /112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

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6

/115 cont./

372

Fig. 96

natural draft (brush and dry sticks are arranged in the shape of a cone so that an air current circulates from bottom to top) and to an artifical draft (human breath).

It is necessary to mention in this connection that in the Sarakatsani dwellings the fire is never allowed to go out (whether it be in the huts during the winter months or in the fretzato used for outdoor cooking in the summer).

252 With regard to cooking, various methods c[illegible]istinguished:

415 Cooking in pots: a triangular metal tripod which holds on all kinds of pots is set on the hearth flagstones over the fire. In the relatively less well organized installations (sheepfolds) and in the course of the migrations the tripod is replaced by suitably arranged stones.

Cooking in the "ghastra" (large metal lid /116/ one meter in diameter, a sort of spherical cap, flat and equipped with a handle at the top).

The "ghastra" is placed on the tripod above a well-burning fire in such a way that one side of it rests on the low wall of the hearth and the other on the tripod. Thus the hearth as well as the "ghastra" rapidly reach a very high temperature. When this temperature is judged sufficient, the "ghastra" is removed; then, according to what one wishes to cook, the foods are either put directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth or are kept in a receptacle which itself is placed upon the

/116 cont./

252 flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered
415 with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated
[412] by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15)[A] in its handle.
Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.
252 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only
262 whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

[A] /Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134)

3: Kabbadias--133 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/117/

252
415
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Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

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Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 273 415 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

354 Light and heat.

Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

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[A] /Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/

[B] /Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

417

417 APPARATUS--supports (e.g., posts, frames, ladders, scaffolds); fences and gates; pens and corrals; birdcages; apparatus not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Traps, snares, and fishing gear	22	Plumbing fixtures	414
Aids to locomotion and burden carrying	48	Riding gear	492
Looms	286	Nautical rigging and gear	501
Furniture	352		

233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
234 these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the
pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
432 For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and
the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families,
are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the
pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
417 perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women
help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
462 relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
342 erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (χαλατζούκα) for the
two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft.
wide (λασιές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this
inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and pro-
tection. During the last days of December and the first ten days
of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on
the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried
girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts.
By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their
lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the
yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into
plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present
conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grass-
land, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move
to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also
fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or
cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [251]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons,
churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered
only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk
three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage
of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary con-
ditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply
the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring
lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right
proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

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[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brushwood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[412] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
[342] herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goatherds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to
[417] build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day. 233 [417] [343]

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori. 233 474 [361] [577]

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these 233 234 [432]

/22 cont./
361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid
manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to
the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible,
on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the
needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
221 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not
have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made
by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the
night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate
of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively
isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding
spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16) here also leaves its peculiar mark.

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16. See below, second part.

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the
rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a
vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches
with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling

417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/72 cont./

343
417 as outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling, there are still others, such as:

a) The frétzato.

b) The oven.

c) The chicken coop.

/73/ / Figs. 57 and 58 appear here/ A

417 /74/ a) The frétzato looks like an enclosure; it is built with slanting posts intertwined with long horizontal stalks. Its walls are overlaid with branches and dry shrubs, likewise intertwined.

There are two types of this construction among the Sarakatsani:

[343]
[354]

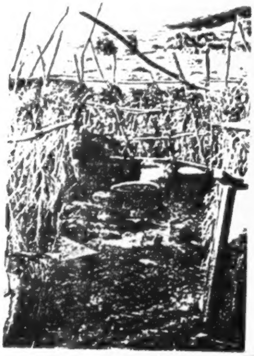

Fig. 59

The first which may be characterized as a frétzato leaning against the hut forms part of the hut (whether round or slanting), for it flanks the front. It consists of a sort of dry hedge in the shape of an ellipse broken on two sides in the middle section.

(Se p.8 [illegible])

3: Kabbadias--85 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/73/

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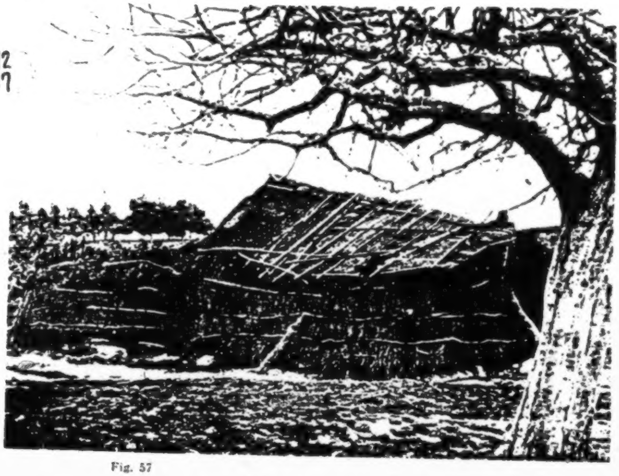

Fig. 57

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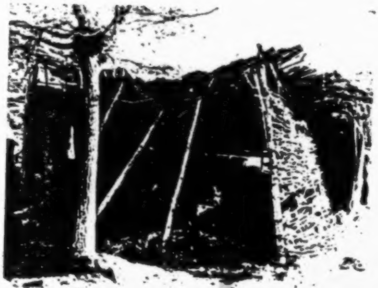

Fig. 58

/74 cont./

342 417 At one of these openings it leans against the front of the hut, specifically on either side of the door; the other /opening/, left free, serves as entrance (fig. 57).

417 In short, it is an elliptical, fenced-in courtyard, the opening of which, situated opposite the entrance of the hut, it closed by a gate made either of boards of interlaced branches.

/75/ The dimensions of this construction are 2.50 to 5.50 meters for the large axis and two to four meters for the small one.

(343) The "frétzato" may enclose one, two, and sometimes three round or rectangular huts placed side by side (in this case, of course, its dimensions are considerably larger); then it serves sometimes as an outdoor kitchen, sometimes as a receiving area. For the latter purpose it includes the tsardhaki (see below).

343 417 The second type of this construction is the "independent frétzato," that is to say, one that does not lean against the hut. This type occurs on the one hand in a circular form called photoghoni, and, on the other, a rectangular form given the name tsardhaki or "shade" (fig. 58 and 59).

In the first form it is a kind of dry hedge, almost round in shape, approximately three to four meters in diameter, that is provided with a single opening without a gate and serves as outdoor kitchen as well as a place for storing utensils; in the second form it is a shelter against sun and heat, placed near the hut. It must therefore necessarily face the north in order to have the benefit on the cool winds (etesian winds).

This latter construction, is more interesting than the preceding one; its dimensions are approximately two meters by five meters, and the sloping roof reaches a height of 2.50 to three meters.

In order to give an idea of the "tsardhaki," let us say that it is a rectangular half-hut on several forks, for its roof has but a single side. Actually, forks 2.50 meters high are set at the two

/75 cont./

343 417 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the frétzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 252 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

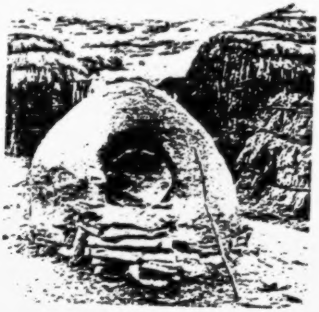

Fig. 60

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the fretzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the fretzato attached to the hut and the free-standing fretzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round fretzato or a rectangular fretzato. [354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar [352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing fretzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).A

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 233 417 Buildings intended for animals.

In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

A [See p. 84--Analyst]

/82 cont./

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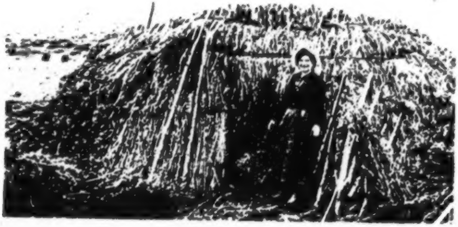

Fig. 66

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233

/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and [824] that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

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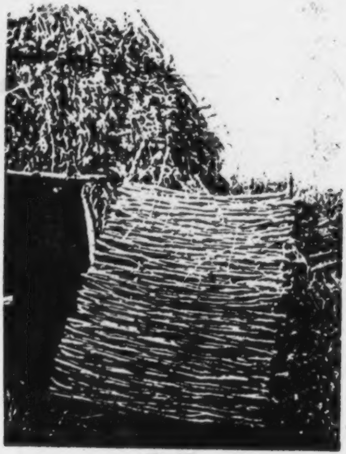

Fig. 67

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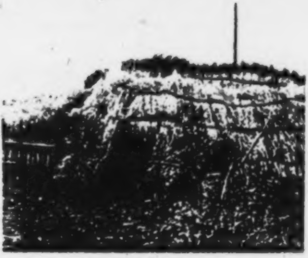

Fig. 68

/84 cont./

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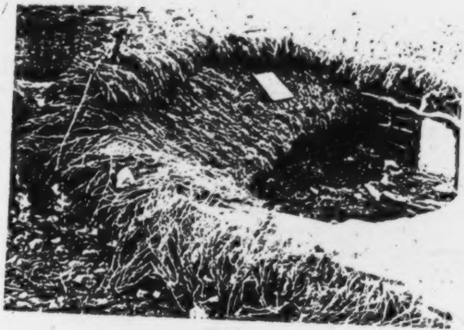

Fig. 69

/85/ Thus, the finished structure has the shape of a long circular corridor with a roof slanting steeply toward the interior of the enclosure. It is this corridor which constitutes the sheepfold proper. The center of the enclosure remains uncovered (fig. 69 and 70).

Finally, the floor of this fold is strewn with a litter made up of small branches that are often renewed in order to maintain relative cleanliness. /Fig. 70 appears here/

/86/ Goat pens: the pens for goats are very similar to the preceding /structure/ with respect to shape, dimensions and building methods. The only differences reside, on the one hand, in the height which very [824] much exceeds that of the sheepfolds, the outside hedge rising to three meters from the ground, and, on the other hand, in the building materials used for covering; the fence is actually covered with thorny bushes (holly, etc.) in order to keep the goats from jumping over it.

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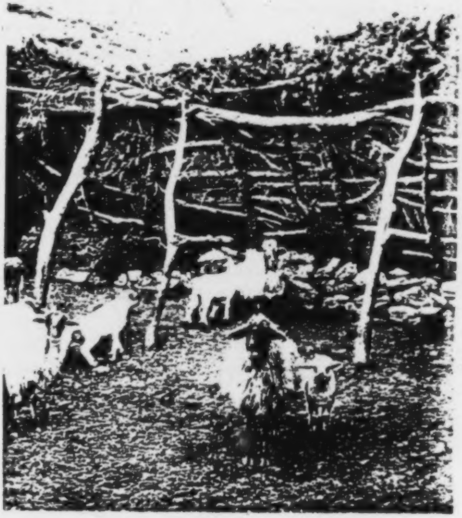

Fig. 70

233 /86 cont./ Furthermore, close to the entrances of this pen a tiny round
343 hut is built. Called tsarkos (fig. 71), /Fig. 71 appears here/ it is the simplest of all those we have described, and here the young goats are shut in during the day in order to regulate their suckling.

The tsardhaki: finally, in order to complete the enumeration of the

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

233 --Unloading of the animals.

361 --Pitching of the tents.

484 --Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417) --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

Working with the livestock

233 [434] Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is derived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 234 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] [415] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 234 221 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
554 [293] shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[492] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.

[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the
grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but
after the mutual obligations have been settled.

421

421 **PROPERTY SYSTEM**--principles of property law; rights, privileges, and powers commonly involved in property relations (e.g., rights that others shall not use or destroy, privileges of enjoyment, powers of alienation and of transmission after death); recognized types of titles or tenure; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, joint, corporate, collective, public); their relation to classes of subject matter (e.g., land, movables, slaves); their degree of integration; their legal and statistical importance; their association with kin and other social groups; etc. See also:

Law	67
Ownership of productive capital	471
Property arrangements upon termination of marriage	586

The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of 59
individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, [421]
it is a corporate group owning in common all significant
property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is
the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become
a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about
the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act
together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely [181]
committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for
honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', 59
icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly 771
reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother
of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family
ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined,
inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its
members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a [577]
mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity,
and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament
of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways,
they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving
them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy
Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material
disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference
to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates
in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless
struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions
such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a
validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, th 59
family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and person 612
ality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, [113]
p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property 596 of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive [421] rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association.

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the 596 idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their 826 different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within [577] the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The 596 relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their 826 inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakatsani, 828 the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood,

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[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with 596
the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after [734]
the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. [732]
She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by
feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home.
But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated
to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the
marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be 684
killed. However, there have been cases where either the father
or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded
by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where 848
the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the
illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to
live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's
family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be
found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies.
No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without
honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all.
In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* 848
individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in 596
relation to his family membership; and this implies membership 571
within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring.
To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents
belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It
seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction
of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the
solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although 596
the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, 421
in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head
of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his
father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office.
Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests [171]
that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common
stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its
members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the 596
sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν, 422

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[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, [113]
vol. i, p. 265.

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

corporate family, stand as equals in relation to the common 596
flock and the common property. Strictly speaking, the son does 421
not inherit property from his father; rather the father and
the son both have claims on the corporate property which they
exercise when they leave the group or when the group is
dissolved. Through their dowries, the daughters also have
parallel claims, and should a daughter remain unmarried she
too will receive something, a half share, with which, like her
parents, she passes into the family of her youngest brother. The
partition of the corporate property and the single household
does not come about so much as the result of individuals
claiming individual rights, as through the redeployment of the
resources of one corporate family group to endow and accommodate
the needs of a number of new corporate families which,
in part, are sprung from it. That this process of growth cannot
be contained within the framework of a single corporation with
continuity through time, is a consequence of the bilateral
kinship system.

The authority of the head of the family group is limited in a 596
number of ways. In the early years, before the maturity of his
children, the authority of the father is unquestioned, but in the
administration of family affairs his position, even then, is that
of trustee rather than master and owner. A father who squanders
the wealth of his family through gambling or inattention
to his duties is despised. If the community discovers that he [558]
punishes his wife and children too harshly, or without reason,
he will lose prestige. In the later years of the family's development
when the father holds his authority over adult sons and
daughters, and *a fortiori* during the period when the elder
brother presides over an extended family group, the head of the
family increasingly exercises an authority which is based on a
process of collective decision and unanimity. During these
years, for instance, the family head does not buy or sell stock
or other property without consulting his sons or brothers.
Through discussion, in which everybody participates, a
collective viewpoint about conduct and action emerges, and
the family is prepared to continue a debate for many hours
until unanimity is reached. As opinion begins to harden, the
remaining dissenters give way out of loyalty, if not from
conviction. So tightly drawn to one another in the mutual

593 /144 cont./

> 562 22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/
> 124 collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the
> 123 women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of
> 114 264 the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

561 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

/150 cont./

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613
The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form" (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4).A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

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THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. [613] In the vertical form of the extended family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

A, /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

/ 151 cont./

596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "_in rem_" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although _anticipatory_ and _potential_, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him _ab intestat_ /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "_morte patris continuator dominium_" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: _Ibid_., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [191] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/174 cont./

596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
● (421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes
an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patri-
archal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative
474 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and
described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution
created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it:
(53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: *'Agroticha*, pp. 35-39.

311 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration
of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals,
large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233
427 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
(423) obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
427 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

436 /192 cont./
437 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
474 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
57
[469 the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).
(177) Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
436 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
474 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide
funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the
suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions
and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first
of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for
if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation
would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
[571) professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.
● [421) Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a
strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption"
the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the
raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the
tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing.
The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.
462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
342 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
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422 **PROPERTY IN MOVABLES**--culturally defined categories of movables (e.g., food stores, personal clothing and ornaments, artifacts, domestic animals, ceremonial objects); recognized types of title or tenure; rights, privileges, and powers involved in each; relation of types of title to categories of movables; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of movables, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., property marks, registration); etc. See also:

Standard of living	511	Slavery	567
Accumulation of wealth	556	Offenses against property	685
Social classes	565		

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Greece EH1

plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small S&
pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some 175
families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for 178
their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim 167
villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the 233
Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive 311
after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the 423
claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally
since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially
effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more
acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter
grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One S
consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of [422] ●
leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional
for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis S&
of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the 175
other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do 178
little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had cre- 429
ated by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the 233
Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the
shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease
(δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed
a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the
right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price
determined by the Government). There remained, however,
various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and
the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although
now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the S&
Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other 175
parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent 178
emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and 167
cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be 311
exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed S&
by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important 175

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[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'. 178 563

[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'. 241 (113)

[p. 19]

II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, 181
children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common 182
feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals.

233 In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs
(τὰ ζυγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep [122]
and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the

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[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16. [113]

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γκιουσέμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom [illegible] from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

69 583 425 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of [198] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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591 and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought
596 to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother
571 with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking
[422] there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE 1

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ καλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use
in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut.
The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his
bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular
brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or
sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the
drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to
each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign.
The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of
stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original
ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this
process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is
finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone
with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended
family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with 586
the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after [734]
the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. [732]
She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by
feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home.
But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated
to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the
marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be 684
killed. However, there have been cases where either the father
or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded
by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where 848
the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the
illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to
live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's
family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be
found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies.
No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without
honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all.
In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* 848
individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in 596
relation to his family membership; and this implies membership 571
within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring.
To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents
belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It
seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction
of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the
solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although 596
the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, 421
in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head
of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his
father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office.
Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests [171]
that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common
stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its
members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the 591
sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν, 422

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[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, [113]
vol. i, p. 265.

596 μιᾶς ζοῶν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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571 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft,
609 which was less often attempted, partly because of the consider-
578 able danger and partly because it made even greater demands
685 on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already
described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their
homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon
as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a care-
fully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of
darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was
distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the
[439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were
delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for
slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a
● [422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the
animals were carefully altered and the animals were added,
some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen
who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to
arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances
of recognition were less than if the animals remained together
in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given
for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of
immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were
carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the
raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some
15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the
community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented
men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some
[556] years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the
prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts,
since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important
element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

/152 cont./

596 428 in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil
[171] code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However,
428 her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by
968 right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls
to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and
Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent.
However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in
fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is
allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not
● [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia,"
the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her
"ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as
she wishes.

596 The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely
421 here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership
428 between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the
[613] final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the
[612] lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute
a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of
the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/
Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are
clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

We
35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, blackened
[342] from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in
the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions
of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded
earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small
kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's
gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi*
(Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother,
two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more
married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family,
the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin
added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But
I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to
help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The
look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and
listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of
being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems
to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their
fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of
humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters
who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting
up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish
where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous
reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why
[186] not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most
definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know
anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani
women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary
care for the flocks."

423

423 **REAL PROPERTY**--conception of the subject matter of real property (e.g., as that which produces food, as things that are fixed or immovable); culturally defined categories (e.g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water); types of land subject and not subject to property (e.g., sites with monopoly value, waste land); recognized types of title or estate (e.g., eminent domain, fee simple, life, leasehold, sufferance); rights, privileges, and powers involved in each (e.g., usufruct, reversionary claims, privileges of gift and sale, power of expropriation); recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, public); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes of persons (e.g., exclusion of minors, of women, of slaves); general characteristics of the system of real property (e.g., private property, feudal tenure, collective property with periodic reallotments, communism); land reform; records of ownership (e.g., boundary marks, deeds); registration of titles; etc. See also:

Territories of kin and local groups	61,62	Serfdom	566
Land use	311	Taxation	651
Ownership of productive capital	471		

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading 132
to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in 183
the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a 221
smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of 233
these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori S 233
who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources 563
of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, S G
and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian 175
frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession 648
until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest 423 ●
period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in de- G
fending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military 175
fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and 648
more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty- 642
six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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648 period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands
423
311 there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the
S Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike,
G
175 encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani
563 throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The
433 inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life
abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their
554 villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions
427 to education and social status which could scarcely be
accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the
higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible
to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were
generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large
tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who
S might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand
G sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And
[571] it sometimes established relations of patronage through which
the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands
who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when
hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of
mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries
and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated
grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment
when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the
monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions
of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain
respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages
and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains
between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators
S of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first
G world war.

175 But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years
167 which followed to the exchange of population between Greece
423 and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for
178 the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and
311 monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new
233 villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani
had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had
the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small §
pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some 175
families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for 178
their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim 167
villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the 233
Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive 311
after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the 423
claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally
since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially
effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more
acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter
grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One §
consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of [422]
leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional
for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis §
of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the 175
other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do 178
little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had cre- 427
ated by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the 233
Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the §
Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other 175
parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent 178
emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and 167
cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be ex- 311
ploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed §
by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important 175

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[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'. 178

[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'. 563 641 [813]

In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, 178
and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the 474
speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence 427
and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as 233
the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children
were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani.
Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each
period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion
to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was
great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept
his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and
wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the
stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period [452]
the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed [212]
calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust
since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had 178
already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he 474
but all his associated shepherds were individually protected 233
under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced [423]
this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly
entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal
grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of
the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had
claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became
more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management.
In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding
30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including
only the members of a single family; its members were now [802]
almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure
was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in
the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however,
remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages
and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more
hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the
shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal,
which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected
lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many
sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds. [556]

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suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two 474
households at Neochori find themselves in this position. 233
[735]

The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns [423] ●
or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Thes- 474
protia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thou- 233
sand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract 423
of grazing land but although the different families are now 648
individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944–5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not unpleased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsan huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947–53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the

474 233
423 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the
village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned
648 not to return in the autumn.

The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential
474 lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-
233 General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients
423 had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily
662 tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or
648 Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

474 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter
233 and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those
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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations
of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear
of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated
families, there was a certain inverse relation between the
frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of
expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield.
At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [622]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [423]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep
entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is
less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and
condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of
other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous
to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [625]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of
grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing
a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but
never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly
at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard.
It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [688]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of
two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value
of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to
the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour
is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite
direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but
they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted
by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness
and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

S G 648 651 S 233 426

large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

S G 648 S 662 G 622 661

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εὐκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

S G 423 648 S 233 G 622 661

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

S G 648 S 233 685 G 622 661 625

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

./174 cont./

596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
(421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes
an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative
474 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233
427 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
(423) obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
427 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their
return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S
[361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the
community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464
562 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work
in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the
woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S
177 d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.

871 Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233]
[241] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S
177 At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
423 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
656 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
G all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
656 leased sites.
423

425

425 ACQUISITION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF PROPERTY--recognized means by which property rights may be acquired (e.g., appropriation, forceful seizure, gift, purchase); creation of new property rights (e.g., by physical appropriation, by priority of claim, by expenditure of labor in manufacture); rituals and symbols of appropriation; recognized means by which property rights may be extinguished (e.g., destruction, abandonment, confiscation, gift, sale); rights, privileges, and powers of the finders and losers of objects of property; etc. See also:

Gifts	431
Buying and selling	432
Marine salvage	502
Taxation	651
Judicial confiscation	681
Theft	685
War booty	721, 727

584 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than
554 the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the
577 other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results
612 from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to
make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the pres-
tige and honour of the new family depends.

59 In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute
583 wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The
corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals,
425 money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be
[422] endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the
moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue
to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still
held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint house-
hold and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters
have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after
the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other
assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest
son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each
surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of
this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household
of married brothers, the husband's family has probably con-
tributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while
the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό)
the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for
the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more.
[435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of
50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of
[178] demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their
equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional
dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention,
and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance be-
tween the wealth that passes into a new family from the hus-
band's family of origin and that which is contributed by the
wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry
merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a hus-
band for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who
had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large
dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that
calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement 59
the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by 583
the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the 425
dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited 827
through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also 828
believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χούι. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

Zagori

co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, [422]
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut. The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign. The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

156 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and
884 circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that
577 he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer
761 threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain
knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family.
577 Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should
885 be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness
(ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possesss. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company',
885 has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures,
577 he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian
425 Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that
at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use
885 lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

S 175 /403 cont./

177 region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish
121 army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of
G 175 the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic
648 government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties
722 and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures
S G were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means
[425] of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

S

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

175 The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland
177 found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
233 474 But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war
429 and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the
178 death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding
S started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of
474 Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all
233 178 of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been
177 obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

S 177 In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the
175 country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil
S registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several
[656] consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

/405 cont./

177
241
233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

[233]
[361] The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since

[641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

[657] Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tsóligato no longer has a reason for existing.

[594]
[425] Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distributed to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

426

426 BORROWING AND LENDING--bailment; rights, privileges, and powers of bailor and bailee; loans and debts; pawning rights, privileges, and powers of debtor and creditor; formalities in the arrangement and repayment of loans (e.g., witnesses, surety, sponsors); security; interest; notes and mortgages; specialization (e.g., pawn shops); bankruptcy (e.g., law, administration); etc.

See also:

Credit	452	Debt slavery	567
Banking	453	Public finance	652
Corporate securities and receivership	473	Penalties for the nonpayment of debts	686

612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will
612 not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly,
558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact
[626] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen
476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus
[426] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in
612 hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con-
476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical
233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen

612 [426] but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

[611] The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

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[113] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word *σόϊ*, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman *συγγενής* and relationship *συγγένεια* are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term *θεῖος*, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for *παπποῦλης*, grandfather, *βάβω*, grandmother, *θεία*, aunt, *ἐξάδερφος*, *ἐξαδέρφη*, male and female cousin, *ἀνεψιός*, *ἀνεψιά*, nephew and niece, and *ἐγγόνι*, *ἐγγονή*, grandchild, grand-daughter.

474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474
233
451 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[692] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474
675 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474
602 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dispositions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

612 τὸ σόι) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt
476 him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human
[431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still
[675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near
[482] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's
[662] journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter,
[426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica-
[851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that 612
remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the 476
Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use [427]
of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not
call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite 612
clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He 476
admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great 426
difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our
kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the [571]
arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen 605
both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple companionship. 612
This is particularly true of the periods immediately
before and after marriage. For these are the years when the [554]
individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents,
uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their
own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal
life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative
period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety,
holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in
seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
● [426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins
are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable
tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money
loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers'
sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood,
and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis
of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate
where the two sisters have married men who live in the same
summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make
informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes
a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his
wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two
sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, working
605 in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a
wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly,
and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical
of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to
the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated
person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person
has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships
which distinguishes them from the ties between
brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation,
since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the
parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual
skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a
[431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers
[426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and
554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred
578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains
[626] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority G 623
vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this
does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. G
Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges [651]
to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its
own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges G
are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary [634]
and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who
is the provincial administrator appointed by the central
Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of G 622
the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for 624
the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this
work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the
registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a
variety of returns which are required by different Government
Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infre-
quently, for the central Government in matters of routine
administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. G
Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of 622
itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member,
his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his
intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether
he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of
the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him
in fact substantially greater power than other members of
his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the S G
Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of impor- 648
tant matters he has the power to affect their interests collec- 651
tively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the S
scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to 233
charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the
first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of
the flock. It may, however, charge less.[1] And it is noticeable S
that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politic- [262]
ally strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in
other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence S
a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very [426]

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[1] The minimum charge is 4½*d.* a head.

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S G 648 large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt
651 to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them,
S 233 debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of
● 426 weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council
S enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it
G 648 becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the
S other hand, the President is willing to grant them various
612 favours (ρουσφέτια, εὐκολίες), which take into consideration the
G effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may
622 be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with
661 Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for
the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of
a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds,
is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a
few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the
S opposition at the time of the elections.

G It is the President who decides each spring which area of the
423 village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-
648 operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance,
S 233 there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphto-
G kambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It
622 is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a dif-
661 ferent area each year. Yet within each general area different
sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their
S animals.

G The President is often able to influence the actions of the
648 village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials,
S 233 although they belong to a Government service, are dependent
685 in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is
G displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them
622 exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a
661 trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in
625 forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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The President has more direct control over the man who is 6 648
employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the 241
village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that 6 622
a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan 661
family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature 5 6
of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may 648
be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through 6
delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. 622 661
These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although 5
some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are [212]
extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of
family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms,
and regulations, most of which are written in an official language
which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a 5 6
large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through 648
disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to 426
ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural 6
Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable 622
difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on 661
account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his 5 [511]
cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit.
There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

G can I do?' After the man had left the office the President ex-
648 plained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a
● 426 man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that
G 622 the men who had voted against him in the recent election should
661 learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that
communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition
S party).

G The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the
648 shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the applica-
426 tion form for which must carry the President's signature as a
G guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is
652 accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to
622 assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In
these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals
in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given
G away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved
647 by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this
support will be hard to win if the village President has charac-
terized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

S G Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or
648 the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance
651 certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have
486 been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue
G the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another
622 district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village coun-
cil but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives
in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally
S moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently
686 happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector
may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met
G when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many
661 cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to
allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the
spring.

S A man requires the President's signature on his identity card.
G He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber
648 from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other
G documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these
622 661 situations the President may be the helper who makes all things
easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because 648
he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and 571
prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions con- G
fer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administra- 647
tive actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The 693
system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative
machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons
remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

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A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of 177
the community and relate it to the world outside, results from 439
the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

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They must sell this produce to provide the money required
for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their 177
grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 511
1938 through close observation of village life they have dis- [439]
covered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries [434]
are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton [291]
summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against
traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the
men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was S
cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces [294]
of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace [415]
the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing [554]
pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and
each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things S
that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available [233]
winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While [435]
twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize [262]
bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a
more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow
bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all
counts, the minimum money income required by a family to
live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased. S

In the memory of living people the community has always 178
exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other 439
pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always 426
lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part 511

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S 178 439 426 511

of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 S [851]

Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 G 441 439 S [426]

The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221

The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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G The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first
441 place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which
439 the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital
472 for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and
435 his assistant at 12*s*. 6*d*. and 6*s*. 3*d*. a day respectively, the cost
452 of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses.
S Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on
234 the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value
439 and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working
435 capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the merchant
426 from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants
G store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make
[465] in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d*.–4½*d*. on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s*. 1½*d*. for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For
S if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin
234 between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the
439 individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substan-
426 tial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him
G to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the
441 extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom en-
439 tirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own
452 and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of in-
S creasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the
[511] Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of bind-
G ing himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it
441 pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By
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sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps 441
£20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone 439
of about £8,000. 452

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III)[1] begins and 5
ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his 434
winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half 234
of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 426
200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he 439
is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is 6
normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move 441
his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave 439
the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this 452
advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. 5
There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty 233
shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if 435
there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must 236
be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

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[1] [see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

S 434 234 426 439 G 441 439 452 S [296] [291] [558]

these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

S 434 426

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

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summer milk money, if he has not already been granted a second advance. It is not usual for summer cheese merchants to carry the debts of the shepherds who sell milk to them beyond some very small amount such as £10.

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In August the shepherd's financial cycle ends and begins again with the taking of the first advance on the winter milk. Here we must mention the loans which are available to the shepherd from the Agricultural Bank. Each pastoralist is entitled to a loan renewable every six months. Up to fifteen shillings for each milking ewe may be advanced at a rate of 6 per cent per annum. But it is a regulation that between the period 1st of July to the 1st of October the loan must be repaid in full with interest, for a period of twenty days. The shepherd therefore repays this loan with the money of his August milk advance. For the statutory period the principal remains in the bank, after which the shepherd takes it out again.

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On all counts it is evident that the activities of the winter cheese merchant support the structure of credit on which the shepherd lives. The many advances which he gives to the shepherd make possible a continuous state of indebtedness to the bank and to the shops. Clearly an important element in the relationship between the cheese merchant and the shepherd is the overwhelming economic power of the merchant and the corresponding weakness of the shepherd. The ultimate sanction is the threat to claim repayment of the debt by taking the shepherd to law and obtaining a court order for the distraint of his sheep. In theory, it is always open to a shepherd to leave a merchant with whom he has quarrelled by selling his milk to another merchant who will then lend him the money to cancel his debt with his creditor. By the repayment of his debt he severs the relationship and escapes from his bondage. But in practice this is not often possible. In the first place, unless he can carry with him a number of other shepherds so that he is able to offer the milk of at least 1,000 ewes, he will not induce another cheese merchant to open a station in an area where he is not already established. Secondly, if he is attempting to leave a powerful merchant, his debt may be of the order of £100 or more, and a smaller merchant is unlikely to be able to sustain long-term loans on this scale. The whole technique of a merchant such as 'X' is to draw the shepherd into an amount of debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

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specific contexts, that is to saving a shepherd from eviction from S 439
his pastures and from the need to sell his stock because of his 571
indebtedness to others. If a merchant has a firm hold over a G
man through the nexus of debt he does not want to assume 441
unnecessary obligations which may limit the range and flexibility 439
of his economic operations. Cheese merchants who are 571
sometimes forced unwillingly into becoming godfathers to Sarakatsan S
children do not always make very satisfactory spiritual G [608]
kinsmen. On the other hand, in certain cases where an influential
Sarakatsan family is clear, or nearly clear, of debt a merchant
may be very willing to enter into the diffuse obligations
of friendship if this will enable him to hold it to his custom.
There is a difference between the relationships which a shepherd
establishes with his lawyer and his cheese merchant. The G
lawyer gives advice and support to a client over the whole range [693]
of his affairs; the more complete his patronage, the more obligated the client and the greater the lawyer's power over him. The merchant's interests in the shepherd are more specifically economic; his economic success depends upon a certain flexibility in his commitments so that, for example, he may wish to make smaller advances and grant fewer long-term credits when interest rates are abnormally high. This seems to be an example of a general difference between political and economic power; the former has a particularist and affective quality, the latter is characterized by its relative generality and
impersonality. S

But the relation of merchant and shepherd can never be G
merely specific to the act of purchase or without some affective 426 ●
content as in simple market exchanges. The merchant carries a 439
dead weight of debt; this he can only recover by a legal action 571
which would deprive the shepherd of the animals on which G
depend the family's physical subsistence and its social prestige. 441
Both sides realize that the existence of the debt, whatever may have been the motives which encouraged it, has meant the possibility of the family continuing to live honourably in their traditional way of life. By the mere fact of having done a good thing, even if without that purpose, the merchant is morally obliged not to undo it. It is a remarkable fact that since 1945 the merchant 'X' appears to have called in only one debt by recourse to the law.

S G The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his mer-
439 chant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would
57 feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had
supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with
G his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambi-
441 valent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that
the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his
actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a
burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is,
he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to
439 dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to
434 obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals
S and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as
● [426] to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd
with the means to survive years when natural or political difficul-
S ties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his
[511] commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in
recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and par-
G ticularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt
426 provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between
439 the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the rela-
571 tionship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is
essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of
credit and political support when his grazing rights are threat-
S G ened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system
[556] of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst
the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd
provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social pres-
tige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships.
They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled
with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an
affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed
attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they
receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

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6. CONCLUSION

571 It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions
596 are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of
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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of S G
the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may 571
often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of 631
this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the 621
wider society along lines of personal obligation and not
through membership of a large corporate group capable of
attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of
the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social S G
status introducing into their social relations a common area of 571
shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context 648
of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more impor- 621
tant villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the
villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting G
power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different 661
shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures
that the latter continue to hold office and power even in
villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on
the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and S G
the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and 571
shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small 557
towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and [369]
prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but G
above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of 661
the impersonal indifference of Government action which S
threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage 662
relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the S G
merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into 571
a permanent association with some of the leaders of town 439
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[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See G
Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National 441
Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, [113]
1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

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commerce. It provides the merchant with an assured source for his raw material and the shopkeeper with a stable clientele. It gives the shepherd vicarious access to the metropolitan market and to the credit facilities of the national banking system. Without these facilities it is fair to say that he could not continue to lead his traditional way of life.

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Income	*Drachmas*
190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

[421] This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

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233 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
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54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small
426 herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the
177 peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from
which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing
474 funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only
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596 rational solution for the indigent.

/176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended
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474 family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock
476 which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with
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464 other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their
supplementary work potential.

233 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to
177 say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a
position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very
engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their
[212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are
generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to
177 prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-
554 economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary
474 education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has
been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and
of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the
474 economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family
[233] already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship
(affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

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427 **RENTING AND LEASING**--extent to which real, movable, and incorporeal property may be leased or rented; leases and rents (e.g., negotiations, terms, formalities); modes of payment (e.g., money rent, share cropping); rights, privileges, and powers of lessor and lessee; eviction; prevalence of tenancy and of home and farm ownership; factors determining rental rates; regulation (e.g., rent controls); etc. See also:

Control and ownership of capital 471

Peonage and serfdom 566

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648 period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands
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311 there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the
S Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike,
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175 encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakat-
563 sani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The
433 inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life
abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their
554 villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various preten-
427 sions to education and social status which could scarcely be
accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the
higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were
generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large
tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who
S might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand
G sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And
[571] it sometimes established relations of patronage through which
the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators
S of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first
G world war.

175 But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years
167 which followed to the exchange of population between Greece
423 and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for
178 the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and
311 monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new
233 villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

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The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

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After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

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[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.

[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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6 consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad
175 shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the
178 summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A
563 majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and
641 central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their
summer village.[24] The purpose of the central government was
to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a
state based on the village community of settled peasantry.
However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions
were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation.
While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of
citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized
5 and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had
[361] built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But
now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought
houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their
groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two
communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional
6 antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting
[186] rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village
patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt
forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with
village habits at least in their more outward and material
aspects.

5 There were also important changes in the forms of co-opera-
178 tion between families within the community. Previously the
474 grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been
427 sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of
233 Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to
[619] carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing,
[556] the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled
a number of other families who contracted to work with
him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group
was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or
marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no
animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

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[24] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, 178
and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the 474
speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence 427
and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as 233
the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period [452]
the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed [2:2]
calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had 178
already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he 474
but all his associated shepherds were individually protected 233
under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically rein- [423]
forced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including
only the members of a single family; its members were now [802]
almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds. [556]

596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
[427] lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[735] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds.

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that 612
remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the 476
Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use [427]
of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not
call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite 612
clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He 476
admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great 426
difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our
kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the [571]
arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen 605
both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple com- 612
panionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately
before and after marriage. For these are the years when the [554]
individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

APPENDIX 1

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas* or Leader of the stani	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
CONSTANTINE TANGAS		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tselingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.

† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas* or Leader of the stani	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zygos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanes		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Gregory Kapsalis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charisis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired Shepherds	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis			2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

5.													
‡ **CONST. GOGOLOS**		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Theocharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chasekis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
EVANGELOS KARAGEORGIS		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
THEODOROS MYRIOUNIS	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
DEMETRIOS PAPAROUNAS	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
9.													
CHRISTOS ARVANITIS	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
DIONYSIOS BARKAS		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
DEMETRIOS PASCHOS		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers. Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	
			4					15				313	
12.													
EVANGELOS LOUTSARIS		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

13. **George Kapsalis**	2	—	$\frac{3}{3}$	3	—	—	0	$\frac{6}{6}$	3	180	0	$\frac{180}{180}$	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
14. **George Charisis**	2	—	$\frac{3}{3}$	3	—	—	3	$\frac{9}{9}$	5	110	60	$\frac{170}{170}$	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
15. **Demetrios Dethiras**		—	$\frac{1}{1}$	2	—	1	—	$\frac{4}{4}$	1	54	0	$\frac{54}{54}$	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
16. **Theodoros Arvanitis**		—	$\frac{1}{1}$	2	—	—	2	$\frac{5}{5}$	1	80	15	$\frac{95}{95}$	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
17. **Demetrios Ladias**		—	$\frac{2}{2}$	4	—	—	1	$\frac{7}{7}$	1	30	10	$\frac{40}{40}$	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
18. **Spiridon Carvounis**		-	$\frac{2}{2}$	2	—	—	1	$\frac{5}{5}$	2	85	20	$\frac{105}{105}$	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land

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/174 cont./

596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
(421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes
an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative
474 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and
described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
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(423) obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
427 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

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429 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
571 (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small
426 herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the
179 peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from
which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

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494 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing
426 funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only
596 rational solution for the indigent.

596 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended
494 family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock
426 which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with
233
429 other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their
supplementary work potential.

233 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to
179 say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a
position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very
engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their
[212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are
generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to
179 prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-
554 economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary
474 education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has
been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and
of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the
474 economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family
[233] already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship
(affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/345 cont./
771 who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand,
186 177 since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the
829 Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism
[429] with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend
themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have
represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another
539 kind and very significant for our point of view.

177 --One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are
829 about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion.
He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

S /403 cont./

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177 region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish
121 army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of
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175 the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic
648 government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties
782 and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures
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G were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means
[425] of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made
to disappear.

S The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

175 The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland
177 found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
233 But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war
474
429 and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the
178 death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding
S started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of
474 Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all
233 of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been
178 obliged to seek individual solutions.
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The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

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177 In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the
175 country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil
S registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several
[656] consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

Sara Katsani EH14

Vlachs EH15

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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

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Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

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What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

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As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

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In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece.*[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

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For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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428 INHERITANCE--forms of property and types of title subject and not subject to inheritance; disposition of noninherited property (e.g., destruction, abandonment, distribution by gift, reversion to a prior owner or his heirs); nondistribution (e.g., maintenance of estates intact within an extended family); preferred or natural heirs and relatives excluded from inheritance (e.g., children, siblings, spouses, parents); sex and age preferences (e.g., exclusion of females, primogeniture, ultimogeniture); persons who inherit in default of preferred heirs; types of ownership acquired by heirs; variant rules for different possessions and type of title; characterization of inheritance systems (e.g., as matrilineal, patrilineal, testamentary); dower (e.g., special provision for widow or widower); testamentary disposition (e.g., wills, bequests, legacies); formalities (e.g., probate procedure); probate law; etc. See also:

Family	59	Inheritance taxes	651
Heirlooms	523	Probate courts	698
Rule of descent	611	Adjustments to death	768

602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-
[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the
[429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly
[828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness
[428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

Zagori

596 422 [583] μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on this common stock according to the needs of his status and situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother. [434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 425 428 888 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the family property ought to occur before all the daughters have been married with dowries which represent their share of the commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden. [884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be [684] [682] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 421 We can see from these facts that in principle the father and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or 551 558
patronymic. 626

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It 55
does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather 611
was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a 612
father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between [428]
brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The [731]
second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two pre- 581
viously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer 584
that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following 554
year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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121 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between
594 the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

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594 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form
593 of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and
● (428) the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision
594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

/ 151 cont./

596 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

421 Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended
421 family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle
428 which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance.
428 The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families.
[612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have
[171] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

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596 in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil
428 code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)
[171]

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However,
428 her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by
968 right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls
to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not
[422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely
421 here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership
428 between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the
[613] final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the
[612] lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute
a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

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596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

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[113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[776] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

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[848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

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428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

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596 474 ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

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The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the
head of the family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato.
This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative.
[428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself
during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the
most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active,
and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His
father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps
the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns
[871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the
[868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his
technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge
and his experience.

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671 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a
768 minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian"
562 of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or
429 if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec-
[602] tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and
continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

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> 19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: *La foi jurée*, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

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428 otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/207 cont./

671 573 [428] exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

474 675 671 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

788
789 /322 cont./
554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[851] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585) publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[804) bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
(844) means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
(428) head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious,
of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants
recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but
a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and
mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their
inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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429 **ADMINISTRATION**--guardianship (e.g., of minors, of widows, of defectives); rights, privileges, and powers of guardian and ward; trusts; rights, privileges, and powers of trustee and beneficiary; law of trusts; formalities; administration of estates; bankruptcy administration; specialization in administration (e.g., trust companies); regulation; etc. See also:

Role of heads of families and of kin and local groups as trustees for the property of their social groups	59, 61, 62
Receivership	473
Levirate	587
Agency	676
Embezzlement	686
Care of defectives	732
Philanthropic foundations	741
Definition of minors	858

Zagori

602 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his
431 relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of
some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once
despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which
he happened to possess a small store. The difference between
the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance
lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such
thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his
little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he
would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense
of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have
been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable
timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the
child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making
no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources.
But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some
return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element
of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude
as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater
punctilio.

606 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of
591 his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are
596 always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement
is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons.
After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal
manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-
[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contri-
bution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he
brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of
origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to
the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the
[429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since
eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-
law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good
standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly
[828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness
[428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's
parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit
his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's
patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an
ordinary dowry.

/205 cont./

671 [128] We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 ● 429 768 602 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father, who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter [474] [596] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a
768 minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian"
562 of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or
429 if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec-
[602] tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and
continues to be part of their family.

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been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

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431

431 **GIFT GIVING**--alienation of property by gift; rights, privileges, and powers of donor and recipient; frequency, types, occasions, and purposes of gifts; social relationships within which gifts are given; formalities of giving and receiving; potlatches; reciprocal gift exchange (e.g., kula); role of gifts in the distribution of economic goods; etc. See also:

Status and mobility	55	Tribute giving	651
Property transactions in marriage	58	Bribery of officials	662
Acquisition and relinquishment of property	425	Almsgiving and charity	735
Bequests	428	Philanthropic foundations	741
Feasts	574	Sacrifice	782

supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children 596
who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold
the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the
other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction,
it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who
have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or
even of the married brother without children, remains one of
common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping
of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a
parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil
this new role according to accepted expectations.

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase
of the extended family's development willingly delegate the
control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this
arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of
anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to
be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within 596
limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification 517
of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros [275]
himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks
in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the
second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful.
Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels
ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their
eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity
presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must
spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to
know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more
money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions
account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his 596
problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros [431]
bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest [405]
brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios
complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for [405]
several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he
wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had
watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody
and asked them if they wanted to know the time and,
before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to
show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

612 476 τὸ σόι) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human [431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still [675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near [484] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's [662] [426] [851] journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter, and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's application for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the
[554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's
[577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίκι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine.
612 This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical
261 ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of
[431] wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these,
it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received
by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's
brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a
younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is
willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of
the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the
pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few
acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he
rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a
sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated
neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and
later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of
Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his
sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and
employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in
watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the
kindred, although they often involve physical separation,
generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of
being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in
or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani
separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land.
Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [871]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long
journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec
has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his
daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the
brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neigh-
bouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

602 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his
431 relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of
some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once
despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which
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ordinary dowry.

Zagori

593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 554 578 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains [624] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
553 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

● 431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

Zagori

bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to 431
his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter 608
Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between [296]
the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and 601
spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relation- [582]
ship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint [835]
responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are [623]
wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

G 148 572 571 the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

S G 148 ● 431 S 662 G 622 661 The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

S [492] S [885] A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of opera- S G
tions. He managed also to mention that he would like to help 648
the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so hap- 431
pened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. S
The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and 662
warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to G 622
take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen 661
the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing
the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of G
honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does [558]
not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness S G
three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the 648
President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, 571
and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to S
help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, 662
there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the G
right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link 622
between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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S 648 a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, some-
times, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions
691 of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ
from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to
the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the
laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because
their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances
they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago
would have been the general response to the interference of
outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance
about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble.
It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capa-
city in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis,
who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in
two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for
violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman,
whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down
a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her
S [687] land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having
found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the
name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

S But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos
G and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing
648 is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to in-
S fluence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face,
233 with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter
662 pastures.

S Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making ap-
G proaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally
648 made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of
S the district, he becomes a member of the local village com-
● 431 munity where he occupies a respectable position in the system
662 of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions
G to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money.
647 Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police
S sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence
G to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money
648 bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest
G guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence
625 has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,
S
662
[431]
[687]

S G wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that
648 his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political
S parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the
662 largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary
G of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the
693 secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he
661 supports an opposition party, Government servants do not
lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions
and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of
reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

S In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the
G Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal
648 571 relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes
G obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in
693 all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem
and respect and give his patron the political support on which
S his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the
[608] godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not
S they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of
[431] their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes
at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation
between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a
patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional
charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature
of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating
'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer
and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more
followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige
G by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his professional
[557] duty, and the more clients who throng his office and
call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more
political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the
provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

S It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many
G successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous
648 policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting
571 Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed
G by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene.
693 Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of
662 Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
574 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
431 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14) Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality: R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p.233.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must
"sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the
legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would
he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society
rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded
on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can
easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether
special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a
true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with
his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relation-
ships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

596 474 /155 cont./
556 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
571 easier and more profitable.

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially,
to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a
certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type
of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story
which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his
wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it
was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of
the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his
mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at
rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/156 cont./

596 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the
474 guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in
689 order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.
434

[431] However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the
474 punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is
689 not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect,
431 that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman,
182 and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of
474 the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one
434 may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles
474

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure
his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

432

432 BUYING AND SELLING--alienation of property by sale; rights, privileges, and powers of buyer and seller; law of sales; frequency of sales in comparison with gifts; cultural limitations on the sale of property; etc. See also:

Acquisition and relinquishment of property	425	Slavery	567
Types and formalities of exchange transactions	437	Bride-price	583
Merchants	441	Fraud	685
Salesmanship	446		

233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[234] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the
pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and
the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women
help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (χαλατζούκα) for the
two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft.
wide (λισιές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days
of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the
yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυθιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [251]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[2] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

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[2] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

Zagori

233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brushwood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining
grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to
the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock
of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer
mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are
strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[417] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter
storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-
herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep,
especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes.
Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total
stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to
[417] build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards 233
the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats [417]
are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which
are born towards the end of December very easily contract
pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are
born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too
far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the
huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening [543]
to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the
pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical
thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of
the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for
keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy
and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to
feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and
carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour
or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the
early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their
mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids
sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young
boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. 233
The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village 474
two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the
remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the
winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are
now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily
adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three
hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village [361]
in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive
concern for the animals which held every moment of their
attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the [577]
year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the
affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels,
and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and
hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their 233
milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese 234
merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of [832]
neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [476]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into
three categories according to the fineness and length of the
staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a
lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and
September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

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[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

412 /36 /
415 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood,
824 oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for
"buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani
[178] use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since
formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an
415 obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho,
296 a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig.
16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the
brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now
234 have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on
the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a
capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce
[824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape
(it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

/42/

286 [432] /42/ The weaving loom: there are two kinds of looms among the Sarakatsani. The first is made by them, while the second is bought from peasant artisans (fig. 30 and 31).

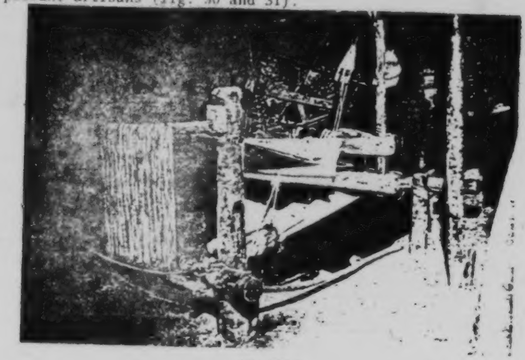

Fig. 30

The requirements of this study are such that it is the first type of loom which will be described here, especially since the second /type/ is not integrated in the traditional life of the Sarakatsani.

This loom is very simple. (7)

7. For a description of this loom we are using the terminology and outline given by A. Leroi-Gourhan in L'homme et matière, p. 239 f., while keeping the originality appropriate to our subject.

It is composed of six posts driven into the ground in two parallel rows and placed opposite each other as though delineating a rectangle. These posts are of unequal height. The tallest are in the center; those placed in front of the weaver, very short, measure approximately 20 centimeters, while the posts placed at the opposite extremity are almost 70 centimeters high; those in the center reach 1.50 meters.

286 /44 cont./

One of the two ends of each bean is pierced transversely. And it is by introducing of a stalk into this hole and attaching it by means of a cord that one obtains the simple mechanism for locking and turning mentioned above.

On the two high center posts another small tree trunk is set and from it are suspended the parts that serve to raise the threads alternately, and by means of which one weaves, that it to say, the two heddles on the one hand and the batten on the other.

The batten which holds the comb that presses together the threads of the weft at each passage through, is itself attached at the top to two sticks of wood called swords /?/.

The heddles (each framed along their entire length by two stalks of reed) are set in motion by ascending and descending movements and suspended by ropes, or rather by a harness, on pulleys. [432] They are made by the Sarakatsani themselves, whereas the batten is bought commercially.

The servicable breadth of the heddles, and consequently that of the batten and of the weave that can be produced, is approximately 60 cnetimeters.

The movement of the heddles is controlled by two pedals, two treadles parallel to the warp, the alternate action of which brings about the spreading apart of the threads of the warp, thus permitting the introduction of the shuttle, on the center quill of which is wound

Fig. 32

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

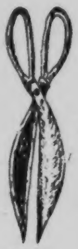

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

[527] If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as
the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done
only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already
been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall
not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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291
343
234
516
415

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of
their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.

[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/95 cont./

233 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles
and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed
upon it (fig. 62).A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or
color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus
become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A. [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,
/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,
--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of
it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity
to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.
--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).
--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.
--Salt and sugar.
--Medicines (quinine, etc.).
--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

[233] [464] --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

[875] --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

[796] --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

[256] [286] --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

[656] --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

7

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not [432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 596 178 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

554 The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.